

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01   SOFIA 01670 01 OF 02 021119Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EB-08 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
    INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
    SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 TRSE-00 /067 W  
    -----042307 021141Z /12

R 021000Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3335  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SOFIA 1670

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: BU, PGOV, PINR, PINT  
SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS CRITICISM CAMPAIGN ENACTED INTO LAW AND  
GIVEN SHARPER TEETH; NEW RABOTNICHESKO DELO EDITOR AND PRESS ROLE  
FOR LILOV

REF: A. 76 SOFIA 1925  
    B. SOFIA 328  
    C. SOFIA 124  
    D. SOFIA A-25, JULY 6, 1977

1. SUMMARY: YEAR-OLD BCP PRESS CRITICISM CAMPAIGN HAS  
NOW BEEN ENACTED INTO LAW, INCLUDING SHARP FINES FOR  
LAGGARDS AMONG THE CRITICIZED AS WELL AS THOSE WHO CRITICIZE  
WITHOUT FOUNDATION. IMPLEMENTATION PROCEDURES INCLUDE STRONG  
ROLE FOR LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA'S COMMITTEE FOR CULTURE AND COMMITTEE  
FOR STATE AND PEOPLE'S CONTROL. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02   SOFIA 01670 01 OF 02 021119Z

2. ONE PRODUCT OF MUCH VAUNTED JULY 1976 PLENUM OF BULGARIAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY (BCP) WAS POLITBURO DECISION OF AUGUST 3, 1976  
ORDERING PRESS TO CRITICIZE FAILURES, INEFFICIENCIES, AND  
MALFEASANCE IN ECONOMIC AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF GOB. (REF A).  
CAMPAIGN HAS CONTINUED OVER PAST YEAR RATHER ACTIVELY, WITH  
CONTINUED VOLLEYING BETWEEN MEDIA AND LOW-TO-MIDDLE LEVEL

ECONOMIC MANAGERS. THE MEDIA HAVE CRITICIZED, BUT SELECTIVELY AND CAUTIOUSLY, EDITORS BEING FULLY AWARE THAT THE PRICE OF CROSSING THE LINE FROM "RESPONSIBLE CRITICISM" TO ANYTHING APPROACHING CRITICISM OF SYSTEM OR TOP LEADERSHIP WOULD BE THEIR JOBS. (REF B REPORTED INSTANCE OF SOME MARODNA MLADZEH EDITORS WHO CROSSED THE LINE.)

3. GOVERNMENT GAZETTE OF JULY 19 CARRIED TEXT OF STATE COUNCIL DECREE ENACTING MEDIA CRITICISM CAMPAIGN INTO LAW AND

INSTITUTING STIFF FINANCIAL PENALTIES FOR THOSE CRITICIZED AND NOT RESPONDING APPROPRIATELY, FOR EDITORS AND JOURNALISTS WHOSE CRITICISM HAS BEEN FOUND TO LACK FACTUAL BASIS, AND FOR THOSE WHO ATTEMPT TO RETALIATE AGAINST PRESS CRITICS. FOR EXAMPLE, A CRITICIZED EXECUTIVE WHO DOES NOT MEET THE ONE-MONTH RESPONSE DEADLINE MAY BE FINED FROM 20-100 LEVA ( 1 LEVA EQUALS \$1.06). AN OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTING OR NOT COOPERATING WITH INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALIST MAY BE FINED 20-200 LEVA. ON OTHER HAND, DIRECTOR OF MEDIA ORGAN WHICH HAS PRINTED INFORMATION LATER PROVED TO HAVE BEEN FALSE CAN HIMSELF BE FINED 20-100 LEVA FOR FIRST OFFENSE AND 50-200 LEVA FOR FURTHER OFFENSES.

4. DECREE ALSO FORMALLY PLACES IMPLEMENTING RESPONSIBILITY IN HANDS OF COMMITTEE OF STATE AND PEOPLE'S CONTROL (CSPC) AND LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA'S COMMITTEE FOR CULTURE. AS CAMPAIGN WAS ORIGINALLY CONSTITUTED (REF A), COMMITTEE FOR CULTURE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03      SOFIA 01670 01 OF 02 021119Z

AND UNION OF BULGARIAN JOURNALISTS REPORTED ON CAMPAIGN QUARTERLY TO COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. UNDER JULY 19 DECREE, SAME TWO GROUPS WILL NOW REPORT AT LEAST EVERY SIX MONTHS DIRECTLY TO STATE COUNCIL, THE HIGHEST GOVERNMENT ORGAN, CHAIRED BY TODOR ZHIVKOV. CSPC, WHOSE POWERS WERE FURTHER STRENGTHEND IN JANUARY (REF C), WILL CONTINUE TO OVERSEE WORK OF BOTH CRITICS AND CRITICIZED. STATE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE IS DIRECTED TO OBSERVE WHOLE PROCESS TO IDENTIFY AND ACT UPON ANY INFRACTIONS WHICH EMERGE.

5. COMMENT: BULGARIAN LEADERSHIP IS CLEARLY SUFFICIENTLY PLEASED WITH RESULTS OF YEAR-OLD MEDIA CRITICISM CAMPAIGN TO NOW ENACT IT INTO LAW, INSTITUTIONALIZING WHAT WAS INITIALLY PARTY PROCEDURE. AT SAME TIME, INCLUSION OF STIFF FINANCIAL PENALTIES AND EXPLICIT THREATS OF PROSECUTION INDICATE THAT LEADERSHIP HAS DEEMED PUBLIC SANCTION AND IMPLICIT THREAT OF FIRING AND/OR DEMOTION NOT SUFFICIENT PUNISHMENT OVER LONG HAUL TO MAKE MANAGERS JUMP. IN ADDITION, FINE OF 20-200 LEVA IS NOW PRESCRIBED FOR ANYONE WHO ATTEMPTS TO PERSECUTE SOMEONE IN REVENGE FOR A CRITICAL PUBLICATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01      SOFIA 01670 02 OF 02 021122Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EB-08 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
    INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
    SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 TRSE-00 /067 W  
    -----042348 021139Z /12

R 021000Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3336  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SOFIA 1670

6. SHIFT OF OVERSEER RESPONSIBILITY FOR OPERATION FROM  
MINISTERIAL COUNCIL TO STATE COUNCIL REPRESENTS  
ENHANCEMENT OF STATUS OF CRITICISM CAMPAIGN AND,  
PROBABLY, RECOGNITION OF ITS POLITICAL SENSITIVITY AND  
POTENTIAL FOR MISCHIEF. IT COULD ALSO BE SEEN AS REMOVING  
POTENTIAL POLITICAL TOOL FROM HANDS OF PRIME MINISTER STANKO  
TODOROV. END COMMENT.

7. PRESS REPORT OF JULY 22 NAMED NEW EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF BCP  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE PAPER RABOTNICHESKO DELO AS YORDAN YOTOV,  
APPOINTMENT OF VALENTIN KARAMANCHEV HAVING PROVED ONLY  
TEMPORARY AS SUGGESTED REF D. YOTOV, RATHER SURPRISINGLY,  
HAS NO PARTY POSITION THAT EMBASSY CAN IDENTIFY. (EMBASSY  
WOULD APPRECIATE ANY BIO DATA DEPT OR MUNICH CAN PROVIDE.)  
ON OTHER HAND, JULY 22 REPORT ALSO MENTIONED POLITBURO MEMBER  
ALEKSANDUR LILOV, PROBABLY NOW SECOND OR THIRD MOST POWERFUL  
FIGURE IN BULGARIA, AS CHAIRMAN OF SUPERDEPARTMENTAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02      SOFIA 01670 02 OF 02 021122Z

COMMISSION FOR PLANNING AND BUILDING NEWSPAPER COMPLEX

"RABOTNICHESKO DELO," WHICH MAY MEAN THAT, WITH DEPARTURE OF  
PETUR DYULGEROV AS EDITOR AND YOTOV IN HIS PLACE, LILOV IS  
NOW IN GENERAL CHARGE OF RD TOO.  
HERZ

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** LAW, PRESS COMMENTS, EDITORS, ALLEGATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 02-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977SOFIA01670  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770276-0405  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** SOFIA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t197708103/aaaadkhu.tel  
**Line Count:** 174  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 3a9e144f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 SOFIA 1925, 77 SOFIA 328, 77 SOFIA 124, 77 SOFIA A-25  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1411583  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BULGARIAN PRESS CRITICISM CAMPAIGN ENACTED INTO LAW AND GIVEN SHARPER TEETH; NEW RABOTNICHESKO DELO  
EDITOR AND PRESS ROLE FOR LILOV  
**TAGS:** PGOV, PINR, PINT, SOPN, BU  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/3a9e144f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009